6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951
OI17 Murngin OI17

796 On the final night, the Kitjin and the *ngamamali* dancing are
786 repeated. The Kunapipi partners are ochred and heavily greased.
The men sing and the women dance. As the singing and dancing con-
835 tinue, a man will rise and go over to his partner, take her by the arm, and lead her into the bush for sexual intercourse. One by one the men stand and take their partners into the surrounding shadows; and since there are usually fewer women than men, some women may have coitus a number of times. Men too may, if they choose, have coitus more than once during the night, either with the same partner, or with another woman whose husband has already been
[431] approached, and presents exchanged. Women, at this time, stimulated by days of anticipation, take a special pride in the number of men who copulate with them. After a man has had sexual inter-
[783] course with a woman, her husband comes to him and rubs his sweat on the man's legs and arms, so that he will not become ill from this ritual behaviour.

There are several variations in the above pattern of ceremonial
796 copulation, and we mention the two most important. While the
786 dancing is in progress, the Kunapipi sexual partners may retire to a specially constructed shade or hut (which is the *murlk* of the Wau-
345 walak) and have coitus. The woman either remains in the hut to
837 receive other men, or returns to the dancing. Should there be more men than women at the ceremony, the woman will most likely remain in the hut for the evening, accepting one man after another. In this case, there may be several "huts" or windbreaks near the sacred ground, each woman taking possession of one. (Not all the female dancers retire to these huts; as mentioned, there are some who do not have partners.) This conforms more to the pattern of ceremonial copulation in the Roper River Kunapipi.

The second variation is in the manner of ceremonial copulation
796 (the *ka'rangara*) throughout central-western Northern Territory.
786 After the dancing, the women form two rows, according to their
837 moieties, on the sacred ground; they are slightly apart from, though alongside each other. All lie down and assume a position ready for coitus. Their male partners dance forward and take positions before one line of women, while on the opposite side another row of men dances into the ground and stands in front of the other line. The men have their backs to one another, and their two rows are between the two rows of women; this arrangement prevents husbands from watching their wives. Then the men begin to have intercourse, some awaiting their turn. When a man has finished he goes to one side

[833] himself above the woman, or inserts paper-bark between their bodies. It is said that the sweat of the woman is possessed of great potency which, if transferred to the man, will cause him harm (that is, affect the specific sacredness of the act). However, this is not found in the north-eastern Arnhem Land area.